



# Town Meeting



*Bulletin* OF AMERICA'S  
TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR  
*Sponsored by* THE READER'S DIGEST

## How Can We Assure Lasting Peace in Japan?

*Moderator,* GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

### *Speakers*

CARLOS ROMULO  
ROYAL ARCH GUNNISON

WILFRED FLEISHER  
MAX HILL

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COMING OCTOBER 11th

Topic to be announced later pending current  
events.

TUNE IN EVERY THURSDAY, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY—8:30 p.m., E.W.T.



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The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of view presented.

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### "How Can We Assure Lasting Peace in Japan?"

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## THE BROADCAST OF OCTOBER 4:

### "Is the Full Employment Bill a Threat to Private Industry?"



## THE BROADCAST OF OCTOBER 11:

Topic to be announced later pending current events.

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# Town Meeting

Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air



George V. Denny, Jr., Moderator

## How Can We Assure Lasting Peace in Japan?

### Announcer:

*The Reader's Digest*, America's most widely read magazine, welcomes you to another stirring session of America's Town Meeting, the program that gives you both sides of issues affecting your life and mine. Recently, Town Meeting has discussed such headline topics as the peacetime draft and control of the atomic bomb.

Tonight, here at Town Hall, New York, four parties clash over an equally timely question, one that is foremost in the mind of every American, "How Can We Insure a Lasting Peace With Japan?" Now, to open this important session, *The Reader's Digest* brings you the president of Town Hall, founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause.)

### Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors, in and out of the armed forces. You and I

have a greater stake in making a lasting peace this time than we have ever had before. While most of us have not even actually experienced old-fashioned bombing, we know that any future war will be fought on a basis of mass extermination.

The next war will be won by the nation that can produce the most effective weapons for mass murder. Even before this discovery of the atomic bomb, it was clear that no future wars could be confined to soldiers on battlefields. Now we know that great cities of hundreds of thousands of men and women and children will be the battlefields of tomorrow.

I'm sure you realize this, for in all the recent polls we've taken on subjects, you've put tonight's question at the top of the list.

If anyone not native to Japan can be said to understand the Japanese mind, then our speakers this evening do. Brigadier General Carlos Romulo, Resident Commis-



sioner of the Philippines, was brought up in the shadows of that mysterious Japanese empire.

Wilfred Fleisher, radio commentator and author of *What To Do With Japan*, lived in Japan for 18 years where his father was publisher and he was editor of a paper known as *The Japan Advertiser*.

Max Hill, radio commentator and author, was chief of the Associated Press Bureau at Tokyo for two years before he was thrown into a Japanese prison camp where he remained for six months.

Royal Arch Gunnison, radio news analyst and author of *So Sorry, No Peace*, was on a roving assignment in the Far East from 1940 until the war broke out and he was interned for 22 months in Japanese prisons.

Now, I begin this program by presenting to you, Mr. Royal Arch Gunnison. Mr. Gunnison. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Gunnison:**

Within the last 24 hours—still today, Tokyo time—we've witnessed one of the most startling events of the war. Hirohito, the Emperor of Japan, paid what the Japs say was merely a social call on General Douglas MacArthur, and tonight there are pictures in the papers of these two men standing side by side like country cousins.

By arranging the meeting the way he did, Hirohito pulled a fast one on MacArthur and on every

American citizen. The first answer, in my opinion, to all this political ju-jitsu the Japs are throwing at us is to force Hirohito to abdicate and then to try him as our Number One war criminal. (*Applause.*)

I'm on the "don't give the banzai boys even half a chance" side of this argument. I firmly believe Uncle Sam has had his whiskers jerked out in great handfuls by smiling, polite groups of low-bowing, bandy-legged little liars.

I believe these Japanese are acting in the full good faith—oh, no, not of liberalism, peace, and future world understanding of democracy. No, indeed. I believe these banzai boys are acting in the full good faith in the Emperor and Emperor system as opposed to everything from the outside world, including democracy. And these Japanese and their predecessors fought the war, committed the atrocities, wrecked foreign and all Asiatic economy in East Asia, all in the name of the Emperor of Japan. As they did this, so are they doing the same thing today in hijacking the peace under the mumbo-jumbo of hissing and bowing and crying "So sorry."

No, I'm afraid we're the ones who are losing this peace or have lost it up to this point, anyway. I make this statement full in the face of the declaration of policy out of Washington in which General MacArthur is told that it's

Washington, not MacArthur, that's making the rules for trying to pacify Japan first with a handful of GI's anxious to get home, and secondly, with a policy of big-brother friendship.

These policy makers seem to think you can go to the tap and turn on democracy to run red, white, and blue in Japanese veins where militarism has flowed black for hundreds of years. It's not the color of the blood in his veins, nor of his skin, nor the uniform that makes the enemy. It's his thinking.

It's my sad conclusion, and I'm not saying this is any disrespect to General MacArthur, but it is my sad conclusion that the present governing group in Japan has created a dilemma strongly resembling an Emperor-and-Charlie MacArthur situation. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Why do I say this, Mr. Denny? So far, the Emperor has maneuvered MacArthur into doing all the talking about surrender and enforcement of United Nations power and so far the government of Japan remains a government of and by the Japanese.

Now, let me dig down into that Washington statement of Sunday for a minute. You remember that short sentence, "The policy is to use the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it." Well, what kind of weasel wording is that?

I'm just a newspaperman, not a diplomat, so maybe I don't get it, but how can you use a government and yet not support it? How can you use a razor blade without a razor? You'd cut your throat.

I'm sure the Japanese people still believe the Emperor and the men around him are very much the government of Japan, not MacArthur and the American occupation troops. If you were a Jap, what would you believe? This is not a question of what the American public believes is being done, based on official statements. It's a matter of what the Jap knows he's getting away with.

So far I've criticized. I've said I believe our policy is wrong. But, despite our bad start, I believe certain positive steps can be taken to win the peace from the combination of Jap militarists, industrialists, and educators now coming to the fore.

I feel strongly that the only way to assure a lasting peace between Japan and the rest of the world is to create a positive, unwavering, long-range, international policy toward the Japanese.

Now, I would go further than Mr. Molotov, who merely wishes to get Russia's oar into the Pacific by requesting a Big-Four allied commission for Japan. I would use the combined intelligence, planning, and experience of all United Nations, not just one—regardless



of whether we did most of the fighting or not.

I recommend that the future administration and control of Japan be turned over to and made the first concern of the United Nations Organization just as quickly as that organization begins to function early in 1946. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Royal Arch Gunnison. Now, our next speaker has written a 200-page book on the subject *What To Do With Japan?* Let's see what he can do telling us how to keep peace in Japan, assure a lasting peace in Japan, in five minutes. Mr. Wilfred Fleisher. Mr. Fleisher. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Fleisher:**

I'm not for Mr. Gunnison's idea of the United Nations control over Japan. We did most of the fighting and we're doing the occupying, so it's our business. Now, I do think that our Allies who fought alongside of us in the Pacific should have a voice. We should not be highhanded about it.

The best channel, as I see it, would be for the Allied military leaders in Tokyo to contact General MacArthur there. But he should have the final say. (*Applause.*)

The foreign ministers' conference in London shows how difficult it is to get decisions—quick ones—needed on major issues. This is both a military and a po-

litical job, and I'd leave it principally to General MacArthur.

General MacArthur did a great job leading our occupation forces into Japan without the loss of a single American soldier and in the face of four million armed Japanese. (*Applause.*) That was a dangerous time, but now it seems to me that danger point is past and American policy needs to be tightened.

What is worrying me, and I think it's worrying most of us, is that the Japanese have shown no real change of heart, but only a change of face. There's been no turnover in Japan. The same bureaucrats who were allies of the militarists for years past are running the government. We cannot expect those men to have a change of heart.

I know enough of Japanese military fanatics to realize that their minds and their ideas cannot be changed. They may give lip service to a new cause, if it suits their purpose, but it doesn't go deeper.

I was talking the other night on a radio program entitled, "Is Uncle Sam Too Soft?" There were two of us speaking from Washington. The others were out in the field—in Germany and France and in Japan.

Those of us in Washington, who were familiar with the government's directives, felt we were making a tough peace, but those

in the field felt we were being soft. I was struck by that difference.

The fact is that in Washington tough directives are being written, but it's quite another thing to apply them on the spot. That's where the difference comes in.

The directive for Japan sent to General MacArthur is only a framework. He's instructed to establish a peaceful and responsible Japanese government. He's to use the existing governmental machinery and the Emperor, but not to support either. That's a tall order.

Well, if I had the directive to fill in, I'd make the following suggestions:

First, I agree with Mr. Gunnison, that if Emperor Hirohito does not abdicate, he should be made to abdicate. In that way, the defeat would be brought home forcibly to the Japanese people. In Japan, responsibility has always to be assumed. Emperor Hirohito should be made to assume it. There is need, too, for a symbol that is not stained with the blood of American soldiers. But I would not try him as a war criminal.

Second, I would like to see the present Japanese government swept out of office, with the single exception, perhaps, of Liberal Foreign Minister Yoshida. I realize that it's easier to get rid of the Cabinet than to replace it because at this stage there have not yet

emerged any liberal forces to take its place.

This leads me to a third point. The jails should be opened up and political prisoners freed as quickly as possible, because there is where we may find the few Liberals we know of.

Fourth, the military police should be abolished. I consider it was a grave mistake ever to have made use of those terrorists. Many of them belong, like their counterpart, the SS in Germany, on the war criminal list.

Fifth, I would cancel or postpone any Japanese election until the Japanese have had time to develop a new political machinery along democratic lines. Any election under the old system would only be a travesty. The Diet should not meet again until it has been renovated.

The situation in Japan is not like what it was in Germany. In Germany we wiped the whole structure out when we invaded the country. In Japan, it's still there, very much there, too much there.

It will take time to make the changes. That means moving slowly, but MacArthur cannot have it both ways. He and his staff cannot move slowly and then be making statements about cutting down our forces and getting out of Japan. In my way of looking at it, we must be firm and patient. *(Applause.)*



**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Fleisher. Well, here's another viewpoint. Brigadier General Carlos Romulo is the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines in this country and was for many years a close associate of the Allied Supreme Commander in Japan, General Douglas MacArthur. His recent book is *My Brother Americans*. Let me say, General Romulo, that we are very proud to salute you as a brother. Carlos Romulo. (*Applause.*)

**General Romulo:**

Mr. Fleisher has just made a powerful presentation of the practical pattern that should be followed to insure peace with Japan. He, however, stresses at the same time that there has been no real change of heart in the Japanese people—only a change of face. That being so, why don't we go at the root of the trouble in Japan and admit that to keep peace with Japan we must depend more on the spiritual than the physical side of the Japanese people. (*Applause.*)

An enemy, crippled and disarmed, can still be a dangerous enemy. The crushed snake has been known to have the deadliest fangs.

In aiming then at the military spirit of Japan, we will find that that spirit is not confined to a single clique. We can't point to leaders alone and say, "These are the guilty." We must point to

the entire spiritual structure built up by centuries of indoctrination that underlies Japan—the entire country and all its people.

We must permit the Japanese to understand that they are but men, and even their Emperor is but a man among them. (*Applause.*) This will come as a shock and a surprise to the Japanese, who even to the lowliest among them is convinced that he is a god, for his Emperor is the God of the Sun and he is a child of the Emperor. This has been the basis of Japanese faith for hundreds of years.

With centuries of godhood behind them, an inadequate, poorly out-dated, poorly conditioned race had the audacity and the courage to throw the whole world into a panic.

We can wonder at Japan's questionable courage. Only by understanding the Japanese concept of a shared godhood can we comprehend it. Such trait of spiritual arrogance is still paramount in the Japanese.

We know it is willing to wait in abeyance for a thousand years, it need be, to take its revenge. A race, possessed of that inflammable mass mentality, that was capable of this fanatic war, is a constant potentiality for future wars.

The destruction of their war industries, the elimination of their war leaders one by one, the crip-



pling of Japanese shipping, and the destruction of their economy, even to the starvation point—all these cannot insure a lasting peace with Japan because the Japanese war threat does not lie in their having or not having the material resources with which to make war, but the spiritual determination to make war.

Our occupation leaders in Japan are amazed to find that the Japanese were able to fight so long and so savagely with such limited resources. But the Japanese were not amazed. For in their minds they were not men waging war but gods seeking to subdue the race of common man.

Now they have been told that the war is over. Their Emperor has told them so in florid words that carefully avoid the word "surrender." But we have no way of knowing if the Japanese, as a people, realize that they have been defeated. We can be certain that at present the Japanese are attributing the end of the war not to defeat. They attribute the end of the war to the kind benevolence of their god, the Emperor, who did not wish to see more suffering and sacrifice.

What else could they believe after listening to his first proclamation announcing the end of the war? But now they will see Allied soldiers in their country while their own soldiers will be disarmed and demobilized. What

can this seem to their confused minds but an unjust outrage, as they will term it, for hatred of the white race is stamped into the soul of every Japanese.

We cannot face another attempt at Japanese world authority. To prevent it we must change Japan's mass psychology. It can be done by removing the Emperor as a sacred institution.

No liberalization of the Japanese political system and educational policies can take place in Japan if the Emperor is still worshipped by and given the fanatical support of his people.

No liberalization can take place if we strengthen the Emperor's position or show him respect. In the Orient, rituals and symbols are of paramount value, and in Japan the Emperor is the symbol of the country and all its rituals revolve around his august person. This is an importance and significance we must try to understand.

When the Emperor failed to pay his immediate respects to General MacArthur, he demonstrated to the satisfaction of his fanatic followers, at least, that he was the superior in authority and no amount of orders given by the Allied authorities to Premier Higashi-Kuni could convince the Japanese that their Emperor was not still supreme.

Now that the initial ritual was remedied, the mountain went to

MacArthur. This meeting should have been staged with a recognition of Oriental psychology. Pictures should have been taken of Hirohito, standing before a seated MacArthur—not side by side—a Hirohito making a profound obeisance before the representative of victorious democracy. (*Applause.*) If thousands of copies of these pictures were distributed and scattered all over Japan, then a most impressive lesson would have been given the Japanese. It would affect the Japanese as much as Mr. Gurnison's proposal here to try Hirohito, with which I agree 100 percent. (*Applause.*)

Trying Hirohito as a war criminal would be the spiritual bomb that could blast Japan into a revolution. He, the Emperor, is the last remaining war symbol and the keynote to peace. He's our greatest danger, and he can be our most valued ally.

By making him take his place as a man among men, we can strike the first blow for a lasting peace. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, General Carlos Romulo. It would be difficult to imagine a more penetrating and thorough analysis of any situation in such a brief space of time. Now we may hear from Max Hill, the celebrated news analyst of the program "World Parade" and formerly head of the Tokyo Bureau of

the Associated Press. Mr. Max Hill. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hill:**

General Romulo has painted a beautiful picture for us. He has told us vividly what should have happened today in the American Embassy in Tokyo, but that isn't what happened. Hirohito went there to see General MacArthur in all his oriental dignity as a guest. He invited himself, and we were gullible enough to accept.

I agree with General Romulo that this was a grand opportunity. We could have shamed the Emperor in the eyes of his own people, but we didn't. We let the Japanese pull another fast propaganda trick on us.

President Truman should have ordered MacArthur not to see the Emperor; told MacArthur to broadcast this order on the Tokyo radio. We should have told Hirohito, our servant, that when we wanted to see him we would send a detail of military police to the palace and let him know. (*Applause.*)

I was in Tokyo the day that Pearl Harbor was bombed. I spent the next six months there in prison, Sugamo Prison, along with about 2,000 Japanese prisoners. They were being held in solitary confinement for what the rulers of Japan called wrong thinking. They were not the ordinary run of criminals, the housebreakers and the murderers, they were young



college students and liberals. Their only crime was that they had expressed opinions contrary to those held by the war lords.

My six months in Sugamo Prison gave me great faith in the courage and honesty of the liberal group in Japan and also a deep hatred for her futile system of government. Here, again, I disagree with General Romulo and with Mr. Gunnison.

All of the Japanese people are not bad. All of them are not militarists. I firmly believe that 90 percent of the Japanese people live in fear and terror of the military. They live in fear and terror of the very people we are giving our support—the military, the wealthy industrialists, and the secret societies.

To this very minute we have not taken positive action against these groups. We have not given the persecuted liberals a chance to rise up against the old ruling classes. We have and still are supporting the men responsible for Pearl Harbor.

In my opinion, a lasting peace in Japan is possible only through the direct action by the Japanese people themselves. Mr. Gunnison believes that we can substitute our authority for that of the Japanese war lords. I do not. It would be just as much a mistake and just as futile.

The Japanese may wish to keep the Emperor. I doubt it. They

probably will revolt and overthrow the throne. That is more logical and, to my way of thinking, that is their own business. Force is temporary and not a permanent weapon.

General Romulo gets to the heart of the question when he says that there must be a spiritual revolution in Japan. Let's help and not hinder that movement. The more barriers we put in the way of the liberal Japanese, the more likely it is that Japan will become communistic and not a democracy. Our best policy is the one made public by President Truman. He said, "Let the Japanese revolt if they wish—do not interfere."

As I see it, there are two glaring weaknesses in that policy. We are ardently supporting the wrong people and we are in a hurry—too much of a hurry. This is typically American. But by being in a hurry, we are going to make a lot of needless blunders. Our best policy will be to make haste slowly.

Here is an example of what I mean by being in too much of a hurry. We now are dealing openly with the warmakers in Japan. One of the first moves of this present war government was to call for an election in January. General MacArthur has given his O.K. but also has ordered that women be permitted to vote. That would be funny if it wasn't so serious. A January election cannot

## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**WILFRED FLEISHER** — Wilfred Fleisher, who lived in Japan for 18 years, is now a special writer on Far Eastern Affairs for the *New York Herald Tribune* and for *Time* magazine. He is the author of a recently published book, *What To Do With Japan*. Born in Philadelphia, Mr. Fleisher was educated at Charterhouse, England, and in the School of Journalism, Columbia University. During World War I, he was a correspondent for the *Japan Advertiser* and the *New York World* with the A.E.F. in Siberia. From 1921 to 1923, he was with the Paris Bureau of the United Press Association.

In 1923, Mr. Fleisher became business manager of his father's newspaper, the *Japan Advertiser*, in Tokyo, and correspondent for the *New York Times* in Japan. From 1925 to 1928, he was Washington correspondent for the *Times*, but in 1929, he returned to Japan where he stayed until 1940 as managing editor of the *Japan Advertiser*. In 1940, the *Advertiser*, an English-language paper with an American viewpoint, was sold by Mr. Fleisher's father because of increased censorship, dwindling American population and the rise of anti-American feeling to the *Japan Times and Mail*. The American staff resigned and the Fleishers, father and son, returned to the United States.

**CARLOS P. ROMULO**—Brigadier General Carlos Romulo, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines, has an interesting background as editor, author, lecturer, and soldier. Born in Manila in 1899, he has degrees from the University of Philippines and from Columbia University. In 1919, he became associate editor of *The Citizen* and after three years became assistant editor of *The Philippines Herald*. A year later he was made editor. In 1930 he became editor of *The Manila Tribune* and in 1931 editor of the TTV Publications (*Tribune-Vanguardia-Taliba*). From 1933 to 1941, General Romulo was publisher of the D-M-H-M Newspapers (*Debate-Mabuhay-Herald-Monday Mail*).

Entering the radio field in 1939, General Romulo served as managing director of radio stations KZRM and KZRF in Manila. Simultaneous with his newspaper career, he was a professor of English at the University of the Philippines from 1923 to 1928. In 1928 he lectured on American literature, and from 1929 to 1941 was a member of the Board of Regents.

General Romulo was a member of the Philippine Independence Mission to the United States in 1921, 1924, 1929, and 1933. He was president of the Philippine Columbian Association from 1933 to

1937; vice president of the national council of Boy Scouts of the Philippines from 1938 to 1941.

Having served as a major in the Philippine Army Reserve, General Romulo was inducted into the U.S. Army as major in December 1941. He was promoted on Bataan to lieutenant colonel and to colonel in August, 1942. He was made aide-de-camp to General MacArthur and was twice cited by the General. He has been awarded the Purple Heart, Silver Star, and Oak Leaf Cluster, and several unit citations for gallantry in action. In 1941 he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence.

**MAX HILL**—Now a radio commentator and lecturer, Max Hill is author of the book *Exchange Ship* which is based on his experiences as a Japanese prisoner and his later return to America. Mr. Hill was born in Colorado Springs, Colorado, in 1904. After his graduation from the University of Colorado he entered the newspaper field. In 1932 he was city editor of the *Denver Post*. From 1934 until 1943 he wrote for the Associated Press serving in turn as Washington feature and photo editor, chief of the New York Bureau, and from 1940 until our hostilities with Japan, as chief of the Tokyo Bureau.

At the outbreak of the war, Mr. Hill was arrested and imprisoned in Sugamo prison for six months. He was sentenced to 18 months for sending out stories "detrimental to Japan's diplomacy," but in June, 1942, he was permitted to return to the United States under our exchange agreement with Japan. He came on the Asama Maru and the Gripsholm, arriving in New York in August, 1942.

**ROYAL ARCH GUNNISON** — Born in Juneau, Alaska, in 1909, Mr. Gunnison studied for the U. S. foreign service at George Washington University and at the University of Geneva. He has had a varied career as foreign correspondent in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, Alaska, Netherlands East Indies, Malaya, Free and Occupied China, and the Philippines. The war with Japan found Mr. Gunnison in the Philippines as a roving correspondent for *Collier's* and the Associated Press. He covered the Philippine campaign for the Mutual Broadcasting System until he was captured by the Japanese Army in January, 1942. With his wife, who is also a writer, Mr. Gunnison was held prisoner for 8½ months in Manila. Then they were taken to Shanghai where they were held until returned to the United States on the Gripsholm in December, 1943.



be honest, cannot be a free expression of the will of the Japanese people. In the past, the only people permitted to vote in Japan were males over 25 years old—about 13 million out of a total of 73—one person in every six. American troops are in the cities. Most of the vote will be cast in the rural areas, and it is there that the government will have undisputed control.

As for our ardor for women to vote—well, that just shows how little we understand the arrogant attitude of the Japanese male. A girl child is never wanted. She is despised. It is legal in Japan for a father to sell his daughters into the worst sort of slavery. A Japanese wife is forced to walk five paces behind her husband—never beside him.

The Japanese we are supporting will make a joke out of this election. General MacArthur should order it cancelled immediately. We should not permit the Pearl Harbor Japanese to get away with this plain challenge to our authority.

There will be time enough for an honest election after Japan puts her own house in order. To use an old Biblical phrase, let's "drive the money changers out of the Temple"; make an army uniform a symbol of disgrace, not one of honor.

As Mr. Fleisher says, we should open the doors of the many Japan-

ese prisons. The Japanese liberals themselves will punish the men who persecuted them. Mr. Gunnison and General Romulo say we should try Hirohito as a war criminal. I disagree. We should ignore him as a false and phony god not worthy of our consideration.

Our choice sticks out like a sore thumb. We can continue our support of an outmoded monarchy or we can give the Japanese a chance to become a democratic and respected nation. The alternative is communism. (*Applause.*)

#### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Max Hill. Well, you can see, ladies and gentlemen, the lines of divergence cross in various directions. About the only thing that these four gentlemen pair off in twos about is the question of whether Hirohito should be tried as a war criminal. Mr. Gunnison and General Romulo say "Yes," and Mr. Hill and Mr. Fleisher say "No."

Well, gentlemen, will you join me up here around the microphone while we see what we can do about finding other areas of disagreement or agreement. We haven't heard from Mr. Gunnison for a while. Maybe you would like to start this. Mr. Gunnison, come a little closer.

**Mr. Gunnison:** Well, to get to Mr. Hill immediately, I don't see how you can ignore Hirohito when he's had such a terrific advertising

build-up, to use a homey phrase, over so many thousands of years. I think it is impossible to and I think since he's the symbol of the hate and aggression, and that the atrocities were committed in his name, that you've either got to try every Japanese for committing or supporting this program, or you've got to take Hirohito and you've got to say, "Tokyo Charlie, you are the symbol and you have to pay for it."

**Mr. Hill:** That's right, Mr. Gunnison. We used to know him as "Charlie"—

**Mr. Gunnison:** That's right.

**Mr. Hill:** —out in Tokyo. *(Laughter.)* We can ignore him by stopping our support of the groups we are now supporting and turning our support to the liberals of Japan, freeing them from the prisons, and letting the real people of Japan run their own country. *(Applause.)*

**Mr. Denny:** General Romulo?

**General Romulo:** Mr. Hill, you cannot ignore the Emperor who, by his own admission, gave in advance to Tojo the rescript for the declaration of war against the United States. That makes him a worse war criminal than Tojo. *(Applause.)*

**Mr. Denny:** Mr. Hill?

**Mr. Hill:** I agree. The Emperor proved his own guilt when he admitted that he gave that rescript in advance to Tojo and he can no longer say that he didn't know

about Pearl Harbor and that he was just a dupe of the military.

**Mr. Denny:** Mr. Fleisher?

**Mr. Fleisher:** Well, I don't want to bring Hirohito to trial for two reasons. First, I think we'd make a martyr out of him. I think that in the long range, he's going to go down as a failure, the Emperor of the defeat. If we tried him we'd make a martyr out of him. There's the other point that he brought about peace in the minds of the Japanese and the Japanese people believe that it was on account of the Emperor that they made peace. And I think now that we have to—we can't go back—

**Mr. Denny:** All right. Mr. Gunnison?

**Mr. Gunnison:** May I just say this, Wilfred Fleisher. I think that we've got to take the chance of making a martyr out of the Emperor. As General Romulo said earlier, we've got to debunk this spirituality, this divinity mumbo-jumbo about the Emperor and the only way is to prove that he is a man, that he's wide open to be tried and that he can be tried and that there's nothing that can prevent it. *(Applause.)*

**Mr. Denny:** General Romulo?

**General Romulo:** As for the liberal elements mentioned by Mr. Hill. I don't believe in them. I don't believe in them because you have Kagawa, for example, the outstanding so-called Christian exponent in Japan. What did he



say when he was interviewed? He does not believe in America. He does not believe in democracy. He believes only in Japan. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Mr. Gunnison?

**Mr. Gunnison:** I'd like to throw this from the Emperor for a moment into this question of the League of Nations, the United Nations Organization. I see that Mr. Hill and Mr. Fleisher don't agree and so I'd like to get my par in here. Namely, I believe the reason why we should invite the League of Nations—the new United Nations Organization—to take over is that we need all the best experience and the best thinking we can possibly use in this matter.

I believe that it is now not a matter of emotion, that we did it and, therefore, we should take over. Democracy is at stake in the world. The best way to carry this out is to use democracy—the democratic means of bringing all the nations into it. To say that we must do it alone is pure emotional poppycock. We want peace and we want it the best way and we want it solidly. Let's not kid ourselves that we can do it all alone because we have started out, my friends, the wrong way. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Now, Mr. Gunnison, you've found a cleavage between you and your partner. General Romulo?

**General Romulo:** Mr. Gunnison and I have come to the parting of the ways. (*Laughter.*) I don't agree with him because if he really thinks democracy is paramount in the world today, we don't want to take the control away from America because America in the Far East is taken as the symbol of democracy. (*Applause.*) For democracy to fail, if America fails, it would be taken in the Far East as the failure of democracy. So far, with all the mistakes that maybe are being made now, America has not failed. She's on the right track in Japan and she will do it properly. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Mr. Hill?

**Mr. Hill:** I want to come back at Mr. Gunnison with one question to General Romulo. Which nation in this world is the most respected in the Orient, General?

**General Romulo:** The United States of America and rightly so. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hill:** That is the reason we should do the job in Japan.

**Mr. Denny:** Thanks. Mr. Gunnison?

**Mr. Gunnison:** May I come in here. I believe, and I heartily agree that the United States is the most beloved and respected nation in the entire Orient. Let's not wreck it. We have an opportunity here to carry the United States' leadership into the League of Nations, as advertised. We are the leading proponent of this

New League of Nations, or we claim to be. Let's use it. Let's use all the intelligence in the world and, as General Romulo said, we may be on the right track in Japan, but I think that we have got sidetracked. Let's get back on the track and get going in the right direction together. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** This seems to be a good place for us to pause briefly for station identification.

**Announcer:** You are listening to America's Town Meeting, the program that gives you both sides of questions vitally important to

you, sponsored by the most widely read of all magazines, *The Reader's Digest*. Tonight, Brigadier General Carlos Romulo and radio commentators, Royal Arch Gunnison, Wilfred Fleisher, and Max Hill clash over the topic, "How Can We Assure a Lasting Peace With Japan?"

For a complete copy of this discussion, including the question period immediately following, send for the *Town Meeting Bulletin*. Write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Enclose ten cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. Now, *The Reader's Digest* returns you to Mr. Denny.

## QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

**Mr. Denny:** Now we are ready for the questions from this representative Town Hall audience. I'd like to start with a question from a very distinguished gentleman in the Hall, the author of a book that's been very favorably reviewed within the past week, *Dilemma in Japan*, Mr. Andrew Roth. I believe you have a question, Mr. Roth?

**Mr. Roth:** Thank you, sir. Mr. Hill. Why have we made no attempt yet to free the tens of thousands of Japanese democrats and anti-Fascists who still rot in Japanese prisons?

**Mr. Hill:** That's just as much a puzzle to me as it is to you, Mr. Roth. I believe that they should

be freed immediately. From the prisons of Japan is where we are going to find the new leaders of the new Japan, if Japan is going to become a respectable member of the nations of the world. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you, Mr. Hill. The next question from the lady there on the aisle. Yes?

**Lady:** I'd like to ask Mr. Gunnison a question. What remedy do you suggest for avoiding instructions by weasel-worded diplomats?

**Mr. Denny:** That's a hot one! You may have to take a breath and think on that.

**Mr. Gunnison:** Well, I don't think I'll have to think very much

on it. My feeling is that diplomats are too prone to follow commas, periods, and crossed t's, and not to think practically in the point of view of carrying things out in the field. It is, as one of the speakers said this evening, a much different problem of carrying out a diplomatic bit of protocol or directive in the field. I think that we've got to be very practical about this, and that the men in the field should, to some extent, have a hand in writing the directives.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman right over here in the aisle.

*Man:* Mr. Fleisher, in your opening remarks you stated that you believed the United States should have supreme authority in Japan because we had been mainly responsible for winning the victory there. Well, would you grant that Russia was mainly responsible for winning the victory in south-eastern Europe and that they should have supreme authority there? Haven't we learned that international force won this war, and international force will keep the peace?

*Mr. Fleisher:* I think that we recognize that international force won this war, but what I want to do is avoid confusion—the confusion of international conference on major issues, the sort of confusion that we've had in London in this last week. So, when it

comes to a decision, I think it ought to be in the hands of someone, and it's right that it should be in the hands of the American commander — the commander of the forces that had the greatest part in this war in the Pacific. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Mr. Gunnison has a comment on that. Mr. Gunnison?

*Mr. Gunnison:* May I just make a brief comment on that? The question of confusion in international affairs and the question of confusion in national affairs—the democratic way is to do it with every bit of intelligence that we can garner from all sides. We have confusion here in America. There is less confusion in a dictatorship, to be sure. We do not want to give the impression that we are trying to do this alone and dictate the peace alone anywhere. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The lady here?

*Lady:* My question is addressed to General Romulo. Will we be able to be at peace with Japan as long as there exists imperialistic ownership of colonies and thus the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," may be used with success once again in the East by Japan?

*General Romulo:* That's an excellent question because peace in the Far East is inextricably linked with the development of the so-called depressed areas there. So



that if we really want peace in the Far East, the sooner we solve the colonial problems, that are festering sores in that part of Asia now, the better it will be for the cause of peace. So I agree with you, if we want lasting peace in the Far East, the peoples there must be given to understand that freedom is indivisible, that there cannot be freedom for one people, and none for another. Yes, peace is also indivisible. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, General Romulo.

*Man:* General Romulo, as all of you gentlemen have pointed out already, there is a great need to arouse democratic elements in Japan. In order to give moral and military support to democratic elements within Japan, will it not be necessary to remove General MacArthur and replace him with a commander who will free the political prisoners of Japan and give rise to a new awakening of democracy within Japan?

*General Romulo:* I disagree with you there, sir, because I believe General MacArthur is proceeding along lines that will, eventually, in the long run, give the results we want. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Mr. Gunnison has a comment.

*Mr. Gunnison:* I have a brief comment on that. I would not remove General MacArthur, but I would go to work on some of the

staff officers who are with him. One of them told me on the trip to Leyte—when we were going in for the liberation of the Philippines—that he knew of no Japanese who were anti-American or who were not pro-foreign, and this man today is General Bonner Fellers—Brigadier General—who is MacArthur's military secretary and doing the leading liaison work, and he is what I might call a powder-puff staff officer. (*Laughter and applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Ouch! The young man here on the aisle?

*Man:* Mr. Fleisher. Isn't it true that we and Britain want and are going to get a hand in the Balkans where Russia did the fighting? So why shouldn't Russia, Britain, and China get a hand in Japan where we did the fighting? (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Fleisher:* I think they should have a voice in Japan. I said so in my statement. I think the "Australians, too, are entitled to a voice in Japan. But I still maintain that the main voice should be that of General MacArthur, and that the others should work through the channels of their military representatives there at MacArthur's side. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Mr. Hill?

*Mr. Hill:* I think that when we say that we won the war against Japan singlehandedly, that we are doing a great Ally an in-

justice. China has been fighting Japan for eight years (*applause*), tied up most of her army and certainly had just as much to do with the defeat of Japan as we did.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman right here. Yes?

*Man:* Mr. Gunnison. If the Allied powers in London are unable to agree on a single fact in two weeks, is it feasible to turn over to them the government of Japan? (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Gunnison:* Well, sir, that is exactly the point. I would check you on one thing. They have accomplished certain things in London. I wouldn't say that they hadn't accomplished anything. At least they got together over there. (*Laughter.*) However, I believe that to turn it over to the United Nations Organization would be taking it out of the hands of the same old gang which is the top four. There were 36 nations that were at war with Japan, and I'd let all of them have their say. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. General Romulo, have you a comment?

*General Romulo:* I believe that turning it over to the nations would just reiterate what we very well know ourselves, the homespun saying, "Too many cooks spoil the goulash." (*Applause and laughter.*)

*Mr. Denny:* I'll refrain from a comment there. The lady with the

lovely picture hat there? (*Laughter.*)

*Lady:* My question is directed to Max Hill. I want to know how real is the possibility of Japan going communistic?

*Mr. Denny:* In two minutes, Mr. Hill. (*Laughter.*)

*Mr. Hill:* Yes, it's very real. During the last years of the war in China, the Chinese Reds have been training Japanese soldiers that they captured. Those soldiers, now Communists, are going back into Japan day after day. They are free to work—work for communism—and in the meantime we sit back and we support the people responsible for Pearl Harbor, keep the real liberals of Japan in jail, and the communists work freely.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Question here for Mr. Fleisher.

*Man:* Mr. Fleisher. After Japan's house is in order, would you recommend private American venture capital be ventured in Japanese industry not only for profit but to build up higher living conditions for Japanese and to further friendship?

*Mr. Denny:* You can send a bill for that advice, Mr. Fleisher. (*Laughter.*)

*Mr. Fleisher:* Of course I think that American capital should return to Japan. I think it's very important that we build up the standard of living of the Japanese because I think that one of the

basic causes of the war was economic. There was great dissatisfaction in the country and the militarists deflected the attention from the internal situation by plunging into war. So I think it's very important that we should raise that standard of living if we're in a position to help do that. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Fleisher. The gentleman in the red tie, there. Yes?

*Man:* General Romulo. Don't you think that General MacArthur has done a grand diplomatic job by using Emperor Hirohito as he has done up to the present time? (*Applause.*)

*General Romulo:* You put me on the spot there. (*Laughter.*)

*Mr. Denny:* He's one of the General's best friends. Go ahead sir.

*Man:* That's why I mentioned it.

*General Romulo:* I must say that the occupation of Japan was made easier by the process followed by General MacArthur. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. I think somebody else ought to take that question. It's just a shame to put him in that spot. Mr. Gunnison, can you take your gloves off and answer that question as you like and then we'll let Mr. Fleisher do the same thing.

*Mr. Gunnison:* I've served as a war correspondent attached to General MacArthur, both before

the war when we were fighting in the Philippines and later when I went back, and I've had an opportunity to see the General in many situations and I've talked with him, and I don't think it's out of line to say, without quoting him directly, that if there is anybody in the world that General Douglas MacArthur would "take care of," shall we say, it would be Hirohito, and it would not be standing side by side with him having his picture taken. I think that there had been directives from Washington on this because I do not feel that MacArthur is the kind of man—I know that he does not feel that this is the way to do it. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Fleisher, will you comment on this question? Do you think General MacArthur has done a good job?

*Mr. Fleisher:* Yes, I think General MacArthur has done a very good job at the outset. As I said before, I think that the retention of the Emperor helped save thousands of American lives at the time of our occupation. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Mr. Hill, have you any comment to make or shall we go on to the next question? All right. The young lady right here?

*Lady:* To Mr. Fleisher. Has not the American history demonstrated the fallacy of believing that because a military leader is brilliant in the field, he will neces-



sarily carry this over into affairs of state? (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Fleisher:* I think that great military leaders must show statesmanship, too. I'm confident that General MacArthur has statesmanship and that in due course of time he will set things right. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman with the high forehead like mine.

*Man:* Mr. Hill or any other of the speakers. I am a member of the Executive Committee of the Congregational Christian Churches. Will peace be promoted by missionary efforts in the name of the Prince of Peace from a country that used the atomic bomb? I was in favor of using the atomic bomb. Are we giving the Kagawas ammunition?

*Mr. Hill:* I believe we were entirely justified in using the atomic bomb. (*Applause.*) I don't think it's going to harm us the slightest in Japan any more than any other bombing of a city would harm us. We've had a century of Christian endeavor in Japan. The latest figures that I have seen on the number of Christians among the Japanese is around 50,000 out of 73,000,000. They're not susceptible, apparently, to Christianity. I have seen missionaries beaten, jailed, tortured, given the water cure because they carried with them a pamphlet which had the very phrase that you used, Lord

of Lords, King of Kings. The Japanese said that was derogatory to the Emperor. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Any of you care to comment on that? That's a pretty tough question, too, for two minutes.

*Man:* My question is addressed to Mr. Gunnison. I'm afraid we're persecuting him a little bit here on this subject but I'd like to ask him if the performance at London, Berlin, and San Francisco among the United Nations would indicate that the best brains were being used for the common welfare, or are they being used to get the best for the individual representative out of the bargain?

*Mr. Gunnison:* I would say that in all international dealings the program of every country is to get the best they can for their own country. May I say, however, that if we're going to have world peace, and I don't foresee it coming very shortly, but if we're to have it, let's be practical about it—the millennium hasn't come—let us get together, because if we don't we'll tear each other apart. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. This gentleman here.

*Man:* I should like to direct my question to General Romulo. General Romulo said we must build on the Japanese spiritual structure rather than on the political structure. Will he kindly enlarge on this statement, please?

*General Romulo:* I will enlarge on it for a few seconds. *(Laughter.)* There is too much emphasis in the Western mind on the physical side of Japan. That is, let us destroy their industries; let us disarm them; let us disrupt their economy. That is the physical side. Well, that, to me, is not important when you consider the Japanese psychology. If we want lasting peace, we must stress the spiritual side and that is, eliminate the military stigma and mentality of this single track minded people of Japan. *(Applause.)*

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. I must get in this other sailor. General, this question is for you also. Yes?

*Sailor:* General Romulo. Why, with all his power, did General MacArthur wait for the Emperor? Why didn't he force the show-down?

*General Romulo:* Well, as Mr. Gunnison very well said here, and I'm quoting him, that must be a directive from somewhere that General MacArthur is following. *(Applause.)*

*Mr. Denny:* Would any of the rest of you like to come in on that one? Well, I want to thank you, General, for your particularly courageous attempt to answer that question where your friend was put on the spot, and Mr. Hill, Mr. Fleisher, and Mr. Gunnison, all of you for bringing your valuable information on this timely and vital question. I sincerely hope that, as

a result of this discussion, thousands, yes, millions, of you Americans will make your own views known to your local paper, your representatives, and to us here at Town Hall in New York. As I said at the outset, your stake in a lasting peace is greater than it's ever been before.

Your stake in next week's subject, a domestic problem, is no less vital as it is in the second of our series of problems on reconversion. I'll tell you about it in just a moment. But here's the Announcer with an important message for you.

*Announcer:* In a recent *Reader's Digest*, Mrs. Harry Hopkins described her experiences as a nurse's aide: She said:

"With each of the 3,000 and more hours I have completed on hospital duty, I found the work more fascinating and more gratifying. Personal worries are forgotten in watching at a bedside where, but for you, the patient might be alone in his suffering.

"The appreciation shown by the sick is touching. They are deeply grateful for even the smallest attention. Every day I receive thankful letters from former patients.

"Frequently, too, I find myself a kind of mother confessor, listening to a patient's innermost secrets. A closeness invariably develops between the patient and the nurse's aide, and that, too, is a gratifying part of the job."

Today, the Nation's hospitals caring for a record-breaking number of patients are seriously handicapped by an acute shortage of nursing and auxiliary personnel. Many nurses have to do nonprofessional tasks around the hospital,



thereby cutting down the hours they can give to care for patients.

Hospitals have long waiting lists of persons whose very lives may be endangered by delay in treatment. Each American in his own way must help in this emergency. Nurses, nurse's aides, and everyone else who can work in a hospital in any capacity are urged to use their skills in essential hospital or public health service.

Men and women, both skilled and unskilled, who can work in our hospitals now, will get the secure well-paid jobs with a post-war future. Others are asked to enroll in Red Cross Home Nursing Courses.

Now, *The Reader's Digest* returns you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Next week, our topic will be, "Is the Full Employ-

ment Bill a Threat to Private Industry?" You remember, President Truman promised that as one of the things he wanted to get done as soon as this Congress convened. Senator Burt Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa, former Governor of the State of Iowa, member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee; and Mr. James L. Donnelley, Executive Vice President of the Illinois Manufacturers Association say "Yes."

Senator Wayne Morse, Republican of Oregon; and James B. Walberg, financier and author of *Our Foreign Policy Begins at Home*, say "No." What do you think?

*Announcer:* Be sure to tune in next week when *The Reader's Digest* brings you Town Meeting.





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